

## Message Text

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ORIGIN PRS-01

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 SS-15 CCO-00 NSCE-00 NSC-05 /022 R

DRAFTED BY S/PRS:PPERENYI:RVC  
APPROVED BY S/PRS:PPERENYI  
S/S-O:R. PERITO

-----022058Z 050531 /62

P 022039Z JAN 77 ZFF4  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO USDEL SECRETARY PRIORITY

UNCLAS STATE 000030 TOSEC 340185

FOR COVEY FROM S/PRS

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A)

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL, JANUARY 2, 1977

FOLLOWING IS TIMES ARTICLE BY FINNEY ENTITLED "KISSINGER  
LEGACY-U. S. BASES AROUND THE WORLD ARE NOT CHEAP."

ONE OF THE  
FOREIGN POLICY LEGACIES--AND DIFFICULTIES--THAT WILL BE  
INHERITED BY THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION IS THE RISING COST  
OF MAINTAINING FOREIGN MILITARY BASES SO THE UNITED STATES  
CAN PROJECT ITS POWER AROUND THE WORLD. IT IS A LEGACY  
HANDLED DOWN BY SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY A. KISSINGER, WHO  
IN HIS FINAL YEAR IN OFFICE WENT ON A SPENDING SPREE IN  
PLEDGING MONEY IN RETURN FOR KEEPING THE BASES.

FIRST THERE WAS SPAIN, WHICH WAS PROMISED \$1.2 BILLION  
IN ASSISTANCE OVER A FIVE-YEAR PERIOD SO THAT UNITED STATES  
COULD KEEP AIR AND NAVAL BASES IN THAT COUNTRY. THEN THERE  
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WAS TURKEY, WHICH WAS ALSO OFFERED \$1.2 BILLION OVER FIVE  
YEARS, FOLLOWED BY A COUNTER-BALANCING OFFER OF NEARLY \$1  
BILLION TO GREECE. ...

TO A CERTIN EXTENT, THERE WAS SOME FINANCIAL PUFFERY IN THE  
KISSINGER OFFERS DESIGNED TO MAKE THEM LARGER. MUCH OF  
THE TOTALS WERE COMPOSED NOT OF GRANT AID, WHICH HAS TO

COME OUT OF THE UNITED STATES TREASURY AND WHICH WOULD NOT BE REPAYED, BUT OF MILITARY AND EXPORT-IMPORT BANK CREDITS, WHICH EVENTUALLY WOULD BE REPAYED, LIKE ANY BANK LOAN TO THE TREASURY. IN THE CASE OF THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, THE DOLLAR LEVELS WERE NOT MUCH HIGHER THAN WHAT THE UNITED STATES HAD BEEN PAYING IN THE PAST AS INDIRECT RENT ON THE BASES.

THE EFFECT OF THE KISSINGER OFFERS, HOWEVER, WAS TO WHET THE APPETITES OF OTHER COUNTRIES, SUCH AS THE PHILIPPINES, WHICH WERE LOOKING FOR NEW LEASE ARRANGEMENTS ON AMERICAN BASES. UNTIL LAST SEPTEMBER, THE COST OF THE PACKAGE DEAL WITH THE PHILIPPINES HAD BEEN BELIEVED TO BE ABOUT \$500 MILLION, BUT, IN WHAT SEEMED LIKE A BURST OF GENEROSITY, MR. KISSINGER OFFERED LAST MONTH A DEAL TO THE FILIPINO FOREIGN MINISTER, CARLOS ROMULO, INVOLVING \$1 BILLION. THE PROPOSED FIVE-YEAR PACT WOULD HAVE GIVEN THE UNITED STATES CONTINUED USE OF TWO BASES IN THE PHILIPPINES, THE CLARK AIR BASE IN CENTRAL LUZON AND THE SUBIC BAY NAVAL BASE.

BUT THEN THE DEAL ABRUPTLY FELL THROUGH, APPARENTLY BECAUSE THE FILIPINOS, LIKE THE GREEKS, THOUGHT THEY MIGHT BE ABLE TO GET A BETTER DEAL FROM THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION. ONE TROUBLE WITH MR. KISSINGER'S ARRANGEMENTS IS THAT THEY COMMIT THE UNITED STATES AND CONGRESS, TO A LONG-TERM INVESTMENT IN VARIOUS FORMS OF FOREIGN AID. IT IS AN OBJECTION ALREADY BEING RAISED IN CERTAIN QUARTERS OF UNCLASSIFIED

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CONGRESS, WHERE THE EMPHASIS IN RECENT YEARS HAS BEEN UPON REDUCING FOREIGN AID, PARTICULARLY MILITARY ASSISTANCE.

IN LESS TANGIBLE TERMS, THE BASES ENTAIL OTHER COMMITMENTS WHICH OVER THE LONG TERM THE UNITED STATES MAY OR MAY NOT WANT TO ASSUME. AT A TIME WHEN MR. CARTER IS SUGGESTING THAT MORALITY SHOULD BE A FACTOR IN DECIDING FOREIGN POLICY, THE BASES TEND TO GET THE UNITED STATES INVOLVED IN COUNTRIES WHICH DO NOT EXACTLY FOLLOW THE DEMOCRATIC IDEAL--THE MARTIAL REGIME IN THE PHILIPPINES, FOR EXAMPLE.

THE BASES ALSO LEAD TO IMPLICIT COMMITMENTS TO DEFEND THE HOST GOVERNMENTS AGAINST ATTACK, WHICH STARTS OFF MEANING FOREIGN ATTACK BUT CAN SPILL OVER INTO DOMESTIC INSURGENCY.

SUCH COMMITMENTS, MAYBE WORTHWHILE IF THE BASES ARE IMPORTANT TO THE SECONDARY INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

IT IS THIS QUESTION WHICH IS BEING OPENED FOR RE-EXAMINA-

TION BY THE HIGH-RENTAL PRICES OFFERED BY MR. KISSINGER...

(ARTICLE GOES ON TO SUGGEST NEED FOR GREEK AND TURKISH  
BASES BUT QUESTION NEED FOR SPANISH AND PHILIPPINE BASES.)  
PIECE ENDS WITH THIS EVALUATION OF PHIL. BASES:  
ULTIMATELY, THE BASES BECOME INVOLVED IN THE QUESTION OF  
WHAT MILITARY POSTURE, WHAT MILITARY ROLE THE UNITED STATES  
WANTS TO ASSUME IN THE WORLD. IF THE UNITED STATES WANTS  
TO CONTINUE ITS POSTURE OF FORWARD DEPLOYMENT IN THE  
WESTERN PACIFIC, THEN THE PHILIPPINE BASES ARE IMPORTANT,  
ALTHOUGH PERHAPS NOT ESSENTIAL. IF THE UNITED STATES  
WANTS TO REDUCE ITS DEPLOYMENT IN THE WESTERN PACIFIC  
AND REDIRECT ITS FORCES TOWARD DEFENSE OF EUROPE, AS  
SOME CARTER ADVISERS RECOMMEND, THEN THE BASES ARE LESS  
IMPORTANT AND THE RENTAL CHARGES SHOULD BE LOWER. MR.  
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KISSINGER MAY NOT HAVE INTENDED IT THAT WAY, BUT SUCH  
QUESTIONS NOW CONFRONT THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION, PARTI-  
CULARLY IF IT TRIES TO CARRY OUT ITS PLEDGE OF REDUCING  
THE DEFENSE BUDGET.

ROBINSON

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## Message Attributes

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**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
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**Subject:** PRESS MATERIAL, JANUARY 2, 1977 FOLLOWING IS TIMES ARTICLE BY FINNEY ENTITLED "KISSINGER LEGACY-U. S. BASES AROUND THE WORLD ARE NOT CHEAP  
**TAGS:** OVIP, SOPN, MARR, US, XX, NEW YORK TIMESS, (KISSINGER, HENRY A)  
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**Type:** TE  
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**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009